

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
AID-05 CU-04 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /071 W  
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R 100935Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7382  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMCONSUL MEDAN  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMCONSUL SURABAYA  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 3196

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, ID  
SUBJECT: ON THE EVE OF THE MPR GENERAL SESSION

REF: (A) JAKARTA 1885; (B) JAKARTA 2123

1. SUMMARY: A SUPERFICIALLY FESTIVE ATMOSPHERE ON THE EVE OF THE GENERAL SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR) OVERLAYS CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL TENSION AS GOVERNMENT AND PARTY LEADERS SEEK LAST MINUTE RESOLUTIONS TO CONFLICTS ON MYSTICISM, THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE, THE PANCA SILA GUIDE AND PROCEDURES FOR NOMINATING THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. UNDER STRONG GOVERNMENT PRESSURE TO DESIST FROM DISRUPTING THE SESSION, DESERTED BY OTHER POLITICAL PARTY COLLEAGUES AND THREATENED PERHAPS BY DEFECTIONS, THE MOSLEM OPPOSITION HAS LITTLE ROOM TO MANEUVER. WHILE PUBLICLY THREATENING TO DEMAND A MAJORITY VOTE OR EVEN TO WALK OUT, IT MAY WELL OPT FOR A WEAKER EXPRESSION  
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OF DISPLEASURE IN THE FORM OF A MINORITY REPORT. MPR CHAIRMAN ADAM MALIK IS NOW WIDELY TIPPED TO REPLACE SULTAN HAMENGKUBUWONO AS VICE PRESIDENT SOON AFTER IF NOT DURING THE MPR. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE LAST FEW DAYS HUNDREDS OF MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPR) FROM OUTLYING AREAS HAVE BEEN

ARRIVING IN JAKARTA FOR THE 1978 GENERAL SESSION WHICH WILL ELECT A PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT AND ADOPT NEW GUIDELINES FOR STATE POLICY (GBHN) FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. THEY HAVE FOUND A CITY DECORATED WITH NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL FLAGS, FESTIVE BANNERS, AND HUGE SIGNS WELCOMING THE MPR AND WISHING IT SUCCESS. THE MPR HAS BECOME THE MAJOR NEWS TOPIC IN THE PRESS, AND 359 LOCAL AND FOREIGN NEWSMEN HAVE APPLIED FOR THE 50 PRESS PASSES ISSUED FOR THE OPENING SESSION MARCH 11. UNDERNEATH THE FESTIVE ATMOSPHERE IS CONSIDERABLE TENSION CAUSED BY THE FAILURE OF PRE-SESSION NEGOTIATIONS TO PRODUCE THE CONSENSUS THAT HAS TRADITIONALLY CHARACTERIZED THESE AFFAIRS. SECURITY FORCES CONTINUE TO BE HIGHLY VISIBLE AND LATE MARCH 10 WERE BUSY BREAKING UP SCATTERED GROUPS OF STUDENT AGITATORS.

3. THE FINAL SCHEDULE FOR THE SESSIONS CALLS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO PRESENT AN ACCOUNTING OF HIS ADMINISTRATION FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS ON MARCH 11 FOLLOWED ON THE SAME DAY BY PLENARY SESSIONS TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT STATE GUIDELINES (GBHN), THE GUIDE TO THE UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PANCasila (P4), AND THE PROCEDURES FOR NOMINATING THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. AFTER COMMITTEE MEETINGS AND MORE PLENARY SESSIONS THE MPR IS TO APPROVE ITS BASIC RESOLUTIONS ON THESE SUBJECT MARCH 21, ELECT THE PRESIDENT MARCH 22, AND CONCLUDE MARCH 23 WITH THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL SPEECH AND THE ELECTION OF THE VICE PRESIDENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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4. REPORTS THAT DPR/MPR CHAIRMAN MALIK WILL REPLACE SULTAN HAMENGKUBUWONO AS VICE PRESIDENT NOW HAVE WIDE CURRENCY. GOLKAR GROUPS CONTINUE TO ACCLAIM PUBLICLY THE SUHARTO-HAMENGKUBUWONO TICKET, HOWEVER, AND A HIGH LEVEL FOREIGN SOURCE ASSURED US THAT THE SULTAN WILL RUN, PERHAPS STEPPING DOWN SHORTLY AFTER HIS ELECTION.

5. IN HIS USUAL BREEZY STYLE, MPR CHAIRMAN ADAM MALIK THREW OUT A FIGURE OF 87 UNSOLVED PROBLEMS FOR THE MPR AT HIS MARCH 6 PRESS CONFERENCE. REFUSING TO SPECIFY THE CRUCIAL POINTS, HE TOLD REPORTERS, "WELL, IF YOU COUNT THE PERIODS AND THE COMMAS, THAT'S THE NUMBER, AND IT CAN EVEN BE BIGGER." HE EXPRESSED OPTIMISM, HOWEVER, THAT ALL DIFFERENCES COULD BE RESOLVED, ADDING THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ANY FACTION TO TAKE A STRONGER POSITION THAN THE SUBMISSION OF A MINORITY NOTE. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MPR STEERING COMMITTEE SESSION THE FOLLOWING DAY, MALIK SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT DELIBERATIONS WOULD PROCEED SUCCESSFULLY INTO THE FINAL STAGES, NOTING THAT THE COMMITTEE'S REPORTS HAD BEEN APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY. HOWEVER, VARIOUS MATTERS NOT AGREED TO (MOSTLY BY THE PPP) HAD BEEN SENT

AS A MINORITY REPORT TO THE MPR LEADERSHIP.

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6. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS HAVE GIVEN  
VARYING ACCOUNTS OF THE WEEK AHEAD.

A) KOPKAMTIB CIEF OF STAFF ADMIRAL SUDOMO GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THE  
SECURITY SITUATION WAS UNDER CONTROL, NOTING THAT THE  
"QUIET WEEK" DECREED MARCH 4-11 HAD BEEN PROCEEDING WITHOUT  
ANY PROBLEMS. GOLKAR LEADERS CALLED FOR CONTINUING  
DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN FACTIONS TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES, AND  
THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAS RECEIVED 928 MESSAGES  
FROM REGIONAL BODIES AND GROUPS SUPPORTING THE DRAFT GBHN,  
P4, AND THE RE-ELECTION OF SUHARTO AND THE SULTAN.

B) DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDI) SECRETARY GENERAL SABAM SIRAIT TOLD RE-  
PORTERS MARCH 8 THAT THE VARIOUS MPR FACTIONS HAVE SHOWN SIGNS OF  
REACHING AGREEMENT ON MAJOR ISSUES, AND A MINORITY REPORT SHOULD NOT  
BE NECESSARY. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT ADDITIONAL LOBBYING MIGHT  
STILL BE NEEDED TO SECURE AGREEMENT ON P4, GENERAL ELECTION  
PROVISION (THE PDI WANTS JOINT PARTY/GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY)  
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BILITY FOR CONDUCTING THEM), AND SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL POWERS.

C) DEVELOPMENT UNITED PARTY PPP LEADER ZAMRONI TOLD EMBOFF MARCH 9 THAT THERE ARE STILL WIDE DIFFERENCES OF POSITION ON KEPERCAYAAN AND THE NOMINATING PROCEDURES, AND THE PPP OBJECTS TO THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF P4. MORE LOBBYING WAS NEEDED, HE SAID, SINCE IT WAS STILL UNCLEAR WHAT APPROACHES GOLKAR WOULD ALLOW THE PPP TO TAKE ON THESE ISSUES. IF POSSIBLE, THEY WOULD PREFER TO TAKE NO PART IN THE DEBATE ON P4 AND TO SUBMIT A MINORITY REPORT ON THE OTHER ISSUES. ZAMRONI SAID THERE WAS LITTLE CHANCE OF A WALKOUT, ALTHOUGH ONE OR TWO HOTHEADS MIGHT GO OFF ON THEIR OWN, AND HE NOTED THERE WERE STRONG HINTS COMING FROM GOVERNMENT LEADERS THAT IF THE PPP WERE TOO HARDNOSED IN ITS OBJECTIONS IT MIGHT NOT GET ANY POSITIONS AT ALL IN THE NEW CABINET. HIS FELLOW PARTY LEADER NUDDIN LUBIS, HEAD OF THE PPP'S DELEGATION IN THE MPR, TOLD THE PRESS MARCH 9 THAT THE PPP WOULD CONTINUE ITS OPPOSITION TO THE INCLUSION OF REFERENCES TO KEPERCAYAAN (JAVANESE MYSTICISM) IN THE GBHN AS WELL AS TO THE P4 IN ITS ENTIRETY, AND FAVORED MODIFYING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RULES TO PERMIT 30 MPR MEMBERS TO NOMINATE A CANDIDATE.

7. COMMENT: MALIK'S FIGURE OF 87 POINTS AT ISSUE ASIDE, THE FOUR MAJOR ITEMS STILL DIVIDING THE PPP AND THE GOVERNMENT FACTIONS ARE: KEPERCAYAAN, THE PANCASILA GUIDE (P4), MENTION OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE (KNPI) IN THE GBHN, AND THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION PROCEDURES. THE USE OF A MINORITY REPORT NOW SEEMS THE MOST LIKELY SOLUTION TO THE CLASSIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT'S IRRESISTIBLE FORCEFULNESS AND THE PPP'S IMMOVABLE OBJECTIONS. THE PDI, AS USUAL BOTH LAST AND LEAST, HAS STILL NOT BEEN ABLE TO SOLVE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES AND AGREE ON THE PARTY'S

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LIST OF 10 ADDITIONAL MPR DELEGATES. THEY APPEAR, HOWEVER, TO BE PREDOMINANTLY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF PRO-GOVERNMENT PARTY LEADERS IN THE MPR AND WILL PROBABLY COOPERATE WITH GOLKAR ON ALMOST ALL ISSUES, LEAVING THE PPP ISOLATED.

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## Message Attributes

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